

Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 PEKING 01048 01 OF 02 240840Z
ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /026 W
-----240844Z 018078 /12
P 240755Z MAY 77
FM USLO PEKING
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 7859
INFO AMCONSUL HONG KONG PRIORITY

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 PEKING 1048

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: XGDS-3
TAGS: PFOR US CH OEXC
SUBJ: SYOUNG POLITICAL LEADERS MEETING WITH VICE PREMIER
LI HSIEN-NIEN

REF: PEKING 1026

1. BEGIN SUMMARY. THE YOUNG POLITICAL LEADERS DELEGATION MET WITH VICE PREMIER LI HSIEN-NIEN FOR 1 1/2 HOURS ON THE MORNING OF MAY 24 AT THE GREAT HALL OF THE PEOPLE. THE DELEGATION LED OFF WITH QUESTIONS FOCUSING ON ECONOMIC PRIORITIES, MILITARY SPENDING AND THE APPARENT COUNTERPRODUCTIVITY OF THE PRC LEADERSHIP'S RECENT PUBLIC WARNINGS ON ITW AVOWED INTENTION TO LIBERATE TAIWAN BY FORCE. REFERRING OFTEN TO THE DELEGATION'S EARLIER SESSION WITH VICE FOREIGN MINISTER WANG HAI-JUNE (REFTEL), LI STATED STANDARD PRC POSITIONS ON ALL SUBJECTS, DEVOTING BULK OF TIME AND HIS BEST ACERBIC WIT TO TAIWAN AND NORMALIZATION. IN AN EFFORT TO MAKE CLEAR THE DISTINCTION BETWEEN "TWO ASPECTS" OF THE ISSUE -- PEACEFUL RESOLUTION OF SINO-US DIFFERENCES OVER TAIWAN VERSUS LIBERATION OF TAIWAN BY FORCE AS A LEGITIMATE PRC OPTION -- LI QUOTED AT LENGTH FROM PREMIER CHOU EN-LAI'S REMARKS AT THE 1955 BANDUNG CONFERENCE AND THE 1956 THIRD SESSION OF THE FIRST NATIONAL PEOPLE'S CONGRESS. NOTING SARDONICALLY THAT HIS PERSONAL READING OF A SUMMARY OF THE GROUP'S EARLIER SESSION WITH

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 PEKING 01048 01 OF 02 240840Z

WANG HAI-JUNG WOULD INDICATE THAT "SHE IS FOR FORCE" (TO LIBERATE TAIWAN), HE PAUSED THEATRICALY AND ADDED "I FIND THAT I'M IN AGREEMENT WITH HER." PRESSED LATER IN THE SESSION TO EXPLAIN WHY PRC LEADERS HAD GONE PUBLIC WITH THEIR AVOWED INTENT TO LIBERATE TAIWAN BY FORCE -- ESPECIALLY IN LIGHT OF THE USG'S INTEREST IN A PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT AS EXPRESSED IN THE SHANGHAI COMMUNIQUE, THE COUNTERPRODUCTIVE EFFECT ON AMERICAN PUBLIC

OPINION, AND THE RESULTING REDUCED USG NEGOTIATING FLEXIBILITY -- LI ASSERTED THAT THE PRC LEADERSHIP HAS ITS OWN PUBLIC OPINION DILEMMA: IF ASKED, 95 PERCENT OF THE CHINESE PEOPLE WOULD FAVOR IMMEDIATE LIBERATION OF TAIWAN.

IN ANSWERS TO OTHER QUESTIONS LI REITERATED THE STANDARD PRC POSITIONS ON SELF-RELIANCE; ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENTAL PRIORITY TO AGRICULTURE, LIGHT INDUSTRY, AND HEAVY INDUSTRY IN THAT ORDER; MILITARY MODERNIZATION IN A BALANCED WAY, FOLLOWING FROM PRIORITY SPENDING IN OTHER AREAS; ANTI-ELITISM IN HIGHER EDUCATION POLICY; AND EMPHASIS ON PERSUASION RATHER THAN COERCION IN IMPLEMENTATION OF BIRTH CONTROL MEASURES. LI OFFERED HIS USUAL ASSORTMENT OF COLORFUL ANECDOTES AND PITHY LANGUAGE ON THE INTERNAL DEBATES OVER SPENDING PRIORITIES -- "LIKE YOUR SESSIONS OF CONGRESS" -- BUT REVEALED NO NEW INFORMATION. LI TOOK A FEW PREDICTABLE AND PERFUNCTORY SWIPES AT THE SOVIET UNION, ESPECIALLY FOR ITS ROLE IN ANGOLA, BUT GENERALLY REFRAINED FROM ANTI-SOVIET RHETORIC (WHICH SUBJECT HAD BEEN EXHAUSTED IN ANY CASE AT THE EARLIER MEETING WITH WANG HAI-JUNG). LI DID NOT RAISE INTERNAL POLITICAL ISSUES OR PERSONALITIES. END SUMMARY.

2. THE YOUNG POLITICAL LEADERS DELEGATION WAS RECEIVED BY VICE PREMIER LI HSIEN-NIEN FOR A ONE-AND-ONE-HALF HOUR MEETING AT THE GREAT HALL OF THE PEOPLE ON THE MORNING OF MAY 24. RANKING PRC OFFICIALS PRESENT AT THE MEETING WERE VICE FOREIGN MINISTER WANG HAI-JUNG; CHINESE PEOPLE'S INSTITUTE OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS (CPIFA) VICE PRESIDENT KO PO-NIEN; AMERICAN AND OCEANIAN DEPARTMENT DEPUTY DIRECTOR TANG WEN-SHENG (INTERPRETER); CPIFA DEPUTY SECRETARY GENERAL KANG TAI-SHA; AND FOREIGN MINISTER US CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 PEKING 01048 01 OF 02 240840Z

DIVISION DEPUTY DIRECTOR LIEN CHENG-PAO. ACTING CHIEF DEAN AND POLITICAL OFFICER KEYSER ATTENDED FOR USLO.

3. FOLLOWING ARE HIGHLIGHTS OF THE SESSION. TRANSCRIPT WILL BE FORWARDED LATER TO DEPT.

4. TAIWAN. FOLLOWING UP ON AN ISSUE LEFT UNRESOLVED BY THE EARLIER SESSION WITH WANG HAI-JUNG (REFTEL), THE DELEGATION LED OFF BY ASKING "IN THE SHANGHAI COMMUNIQUE OF 1972 THE US REAFFIRMED ITS COMMITMENT TO A PEACEFUL SOLUTION OF THE TAIWAN PROBLEM. IN LIGHT OF RECENT STATEMENTS BY CHINESE LEADERS THAT CHINA WILL USE FORCE TO LIBERATE TAIWAN, DON'T YOU BELIEVE THAT THE SHANGHAI COMMUNIQUE HAS BEEN RENDERED INOPERABLE AND NORMALIZATION OF RELATIONS PRECLUDED?"

5. WELL-ARMED WITH BRIEFING PAPERS AND DISPLAYING IN-DEPTH KNOWLEDGE OF THE GROUP'S EXCHANGE WITH WANG HAI-JUNG, LI GAVE AN UNUSUALLY DETAILED (ALBEIT STANDARD) RESPONSE. HE QUOTED AT LENGTH FROM CHOU EN-LAI'S APRIL 23, 1955 STATEMENT AT THE BANDUNG

CONFERENCE AND CHOU'S JUNE 28, 1956 STATEMENT AT THE THIRD SESSION OF THE FIRST NATIONAL PEOPLE'S CONGRESS. BOTH SPEECHES -- WHICH LI DESCRIBED AS THE CONSISTENT POLICY OF THE PRC -- DREW A DISTINCTION BETWEEN PEACEFUL RESOLUTION THROUGH NEGOTIATIONS OF SINO-US DIFFERENCES (THE INTERNATIONAL ASPECT) AND LIBERATION OF TAIWAN BY EITHER PEACEFUL MEANS OR WARFARE (THE INTERNAL ASPECT). LI STRESSED THAT HE WISHED PRIMARILY TO CLEAR UP THE MISCONCEPTION ON THE PART OF "SOME AMERICAN FRIENDS" THAT THE PRC HAD ALTERED ITS POSITION OR WAS WILLING TO NEGOTIATE ON THE MODE OF LIBERATING TAIWAN.

6. NOTING SARDONICALLY THAT HIS PERSONAL READING OF A SUMMARY OF THE WANG HAI-JUNG SESSION INDICATED THAT "SHE IS FOR FORCE" (TO LIBERATE TAIWAN), LI PAUSED THEATRICALY AND ADDED "I FIND THAT I'M IN AGREEMENT WITH HER....SHE IS PROBABLY A RADICAL."

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 PEKING 01048 02 OF 02 240847Z
ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /026 W
-----240852Z 018165 /15
P 240755Z MAY 77
FM USLO PEKING
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 7860
INFO AMCONSUL HONG KONG PRIORITY

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 PEKING 1048

EXDIS

7. PRESSED LATER IN THE SESSION TO EXPLAIN WHY PRC LEADERS HAD GONE PUBLIC WITH THEIR AVOWED INTENT TO LIBERATE TAIWAN BY FORCE -- ESPECIALLY IN LIGHT OF THE USG'S EXPRESSED INTEREST IN A PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT, THE COUNTERPRODUCTIVE EFFECT ON AMERICAN PUBLIC OPINION, AND THE RESULTING REDUCED USG NEGOTIATING FLEXIBILITY -- LI ASSERTED THAT THE PRC LEADERSHIP HAS ITS OWN PUBLIC OPINION DILEMMA: IF ASKED, 95 PERCENT OF THE CHINESE PEOPLE WOULD FAVOR IMMEDIATE LIBERATION OF TAIWAN. AT ONE POINT, NOT RECALLING THAT THE SHANGHAI COMMUNIQUE CONTAINED A PASSAGE STATING THE US INTEREST IN A PEACEFUL SOLUTION OF THE TAIWAN PROBLEM, LI CALLED FOR A TEXT AND STUDIED IT. HIS ULTIMATE ANSWER, HOWEVER, DODGED THE THRUST OF THE QUESTION AND MERELY RESTATED THE THREE PRINCIPLES FOR NORMALIZATION.

8. THESOVIET UNION. LI TOOK A FEW PREDICTABLE AND PERFUNCTORY

SWIPES AT THE SOVIET UNION, ESPECIALLY FOR ITS BACKING OF CUBAN TROOPS IN ANGOLA, BUT OTHERWISE DIPPED LITTLE INTO HIS RESERVOIR OF ANTI-SOVIET RHETORIC. EVEN WHEN GIVEN THE OPPORTUNITY TO STATE THE USUAL FORMULATION THAT TAIWAN IS SECONDARY AND "INTERNATIONAL ISSUES" (A EUPHEMISM FOR THE SOVIET UNION) PRIMARY IN THE US-PRC RELATIONSHIP, LI DID NOT RISE TO THE BAIT -- POSSIBLY OWING TO THE EXHAUSTION OF THE TOPIC IN THE EARLIER SESSION WITH WANG.

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 PEKING 01048 02 OF 02 240847Z

9. MILITARY MODERNIZATION. LI INDICATED THAT THE CHINESE ARE COMMITTED TO MODERNIZATION OF THEIR ARMED FORCES AND ARMAMENTS -- ONE OF PREMIER CHOU'S "FOUR MODERNIZATIONS" WAS NATIONAL DEFENSE -- BUT MADE CLEAR THAT THE MILITARY WOULD HAVE TO TAKE A BACK SEAT TO OTHER SECTORS. LI OBSERVED THAT MODERNIZATION OF THE MILITARY "ALSO CALLS FOR AN AGRICULTURAL AND INDUSTRIAL BASIS. IN OUR OPINION THE SOVIET UNION IS STRESSING DEVELOPMENT OF THE MILITARY IN SUCH A WAY THAT ITS AGRICULTURE AND LIGHT INDUSTRY ARE DISPROPORTIONATE AND ITS PEOPLE DON'T EAT ENOUGH.... THEREFORE WE ARE FOR MODERNIZATION OF OUR NATIONAL DEFENSE ON THE BASIS OF DEVELOPMENT OF OTHER INDUSTRIES AND AGRICULTURE."

10. ECONOMICS. LI ESCHEWED SPECIFICS, NOTING ONLY THAT CHAIRMAN HUA HAD CALLED FOR DEVELOPMENT OF TEN NEW TACHING-TYPE OILFIELDS AND OF THE COAL INDUSTRY. LI OFFERED HIS USUAL ASSORTMENT OF COLORFUL ANECDOTES, CHINESE PROVERBS, AND PITHY LANGUAGE CONCERNING THE INTERNAL CHINESE DEBATE OVER SPENDING PRIORITIES -- "LIKE YOUR SESSIONS OF CONGRESS" -- BUT REVEALED NO NEW INFORMATION. HE REITERATED THE STANDARD POSITIONS ON SELF-RELIANCE (STRESSING THAT "WE DO NOT HAVE A CLOSED-DOOR POLICY, HOWEVER"); ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT PRIORITY TO AGRICULTURE, LIGHT INDUSTRY AND HEAVY INDUSTRY IN THAT ORDER; AN EDUCATION POLICY STRESSING PRACTICAL TRAINING BUT PERMITTING REASONABLE EXAMINATIONS; AND EMPHASIS ON PERSUASION RATHER THAN COERCION IN IMPLEMENTATION OF BIRTH CONTROL MEASURES.

11. LI DID NOT RAISE INTERNAL POLITICAL ISSUES OF PERSONALITIES. ON SEVERAL OCCASIONS HE LAUDED THE VISION OF CHAIRMAN MAO, CITED APPROVINGLY THE POLICIES OF PREMIER CHOU, AND NOTED THE LEADERSHIP OF HUA KUO-FENG.
DEAN

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: Z
Capture Date: 01-Jan-1994 12:00:00 am
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: ECONOMIC CONDITIONS, INDEPENDENCE, POLITICAL LEADERS, MEETINGS, MILITARY PLANS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Sent Date: 24-May-1977 12:00:00 am
Decaption Date: 22 May 2009
Decaption Note: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 22 May 2009
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1977PEKING01048
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: X3
Errors: N/A
Expiration:
Film Number: D770184-0758
Format: TEL
From: PEKING
Handling Restrictions:
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1977/newtext/t19770523/aaaaaucn.tel
Line Count: 216
Litigation Code IDs:
Litigation Codes:
Litigation History:
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Message ID: 80b5568b-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Office: ACTION SS
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: EXDIS
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 4
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: EXDIS
Reference: 77 PEKING 1026
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 29-Dec-2004 12:00:00 am
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 2390798
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: SYOUNG POLITICAL LEADERS MEETING WITH VICE PREMIER LI HSIEN-NIEN
TAGS: PFOR, OEXC, US, CH, TW, (LI HSIEN-NIEN)
To: STATE
Type: TE
vdkgvwkey: odb://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/80b5568b-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
22 May 2009
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009